1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

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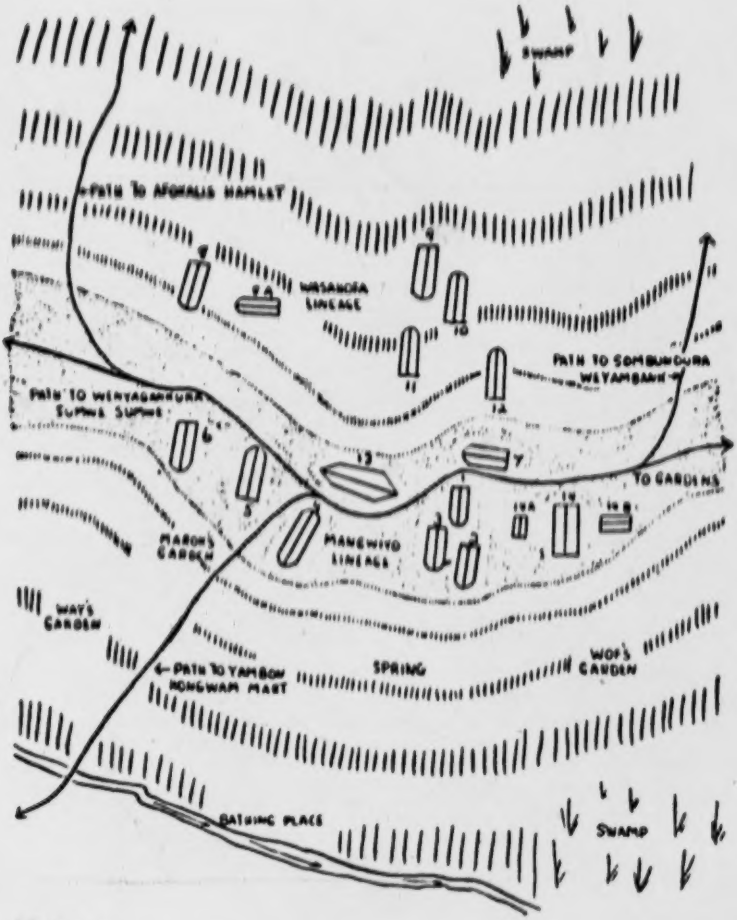

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OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

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RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

Mangwiyow Lineage

1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwa[1]
   Uka Mey Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Fit
4. War = Bura = Kuma Kar = Difa = Yame Kis = Amba = Sungai[2]
   Mano Haya Ham Suw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gege
   Gwamp Njan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Famba Gwanta Merik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasuhof Lineage

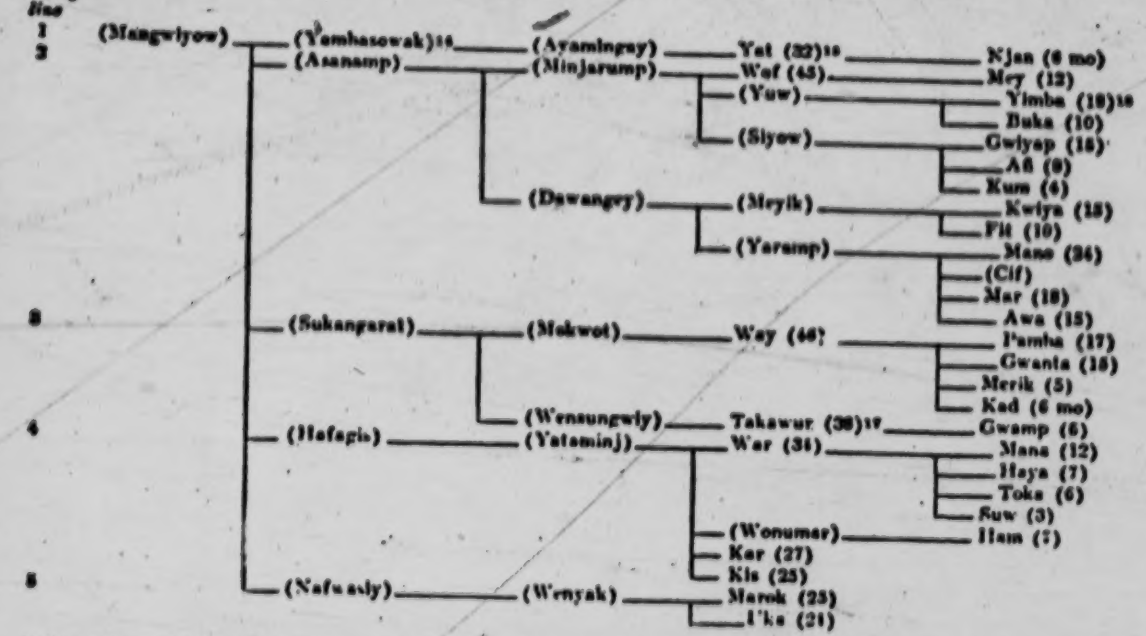
8. Waramus = Nawa
   (8a) Mes = Yimba Aya Kwos
9. Afok = Kumwe
   Kawaf
10. Fokotay = Ngwiya
    Hambo
11. Daw = Huwena
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwal = Gufo
    Angandim Angeyamar
13. Rumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters

[1] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Uka, Mey, and Kum are Wof's children.

[2] War, Kar, and Kis are brothers. The children are those of War.

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[15]



[15] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[16] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling*; he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling*.

[17] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatsminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[18] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[19] Does not live in the hamlet.

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1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [595] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife [597] Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [154] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell- 342

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [105] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [118] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

THE LINEAGE OF WASAHOF

Family line					
6	(Wasahof)	(Hokungay)	(Mondunk)	Fokotay (35)	Hamk (7)
				Afok (30)	Kawaf (2)
7				(unknown)	Yawa (15)
		(Eleyaf)	(Hokwaw)	Waramus (50)	Mes (18)
					Aya (16)
8					Kwos (8)
		(Afokwalump)	(Hafaduk)	Daw (36)	Kayamaka (7)
					Yawaka (5)
				Kwal (34)	Angandim (4)
					Angemar (1)

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1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house [361] is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a [154] quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house, plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its male members build their houses. The exact site is decided by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with respect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sections belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

The responsibility for defending property rights in land, produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life. He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[15] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[15] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

KUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mbogwiyaw Lineage

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1. Wof = Knya = Chimawa[2]
   Buka Moy Kum
2. Yawaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Matya Awa Fit
4. Wur = Bora = Kawa Kar = Mi.ka = Yawa Kis = Amba = Sanga[3]
   Mawa Maya Mam Sar Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gaga
   Gamap Mjan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Yamba Gwamta Marik Kadawam
7. Maruk = Mari Wka
   Afi

Waambof Lineage

8. Waramwa = Mawa
   (Sa) Mas = Yimba Aya Mawa
9. Afok = Kamwa
   Kwaf
10. Yokotay = Mgwiya
    Kamba
11. Daw = Mawam
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Mwal = Gufa
    Angandim Angayamar
13. Rambima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Kamb and Wiwap)

[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Knya and Chimawa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, Moy, and Kum are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwum subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayemakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tuk, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayemakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 592 361 [613] [114] Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son May (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Yowaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. HRD. - Analyst]

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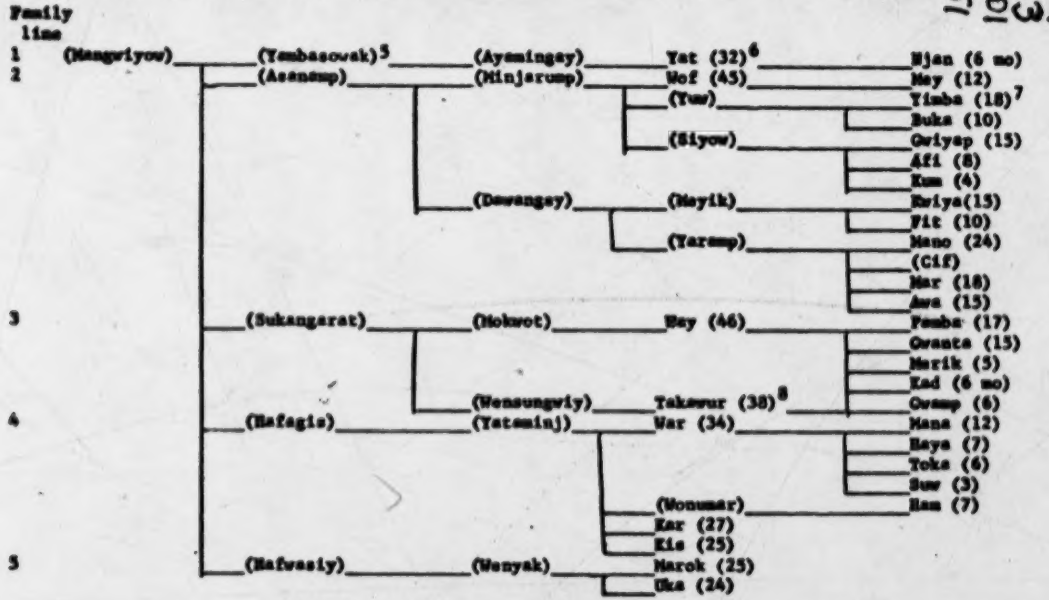
THE LINEAGE OF WAROVITON[4]



[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[5] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatsminj, of Wof is Wofsraga, of May is Maysmukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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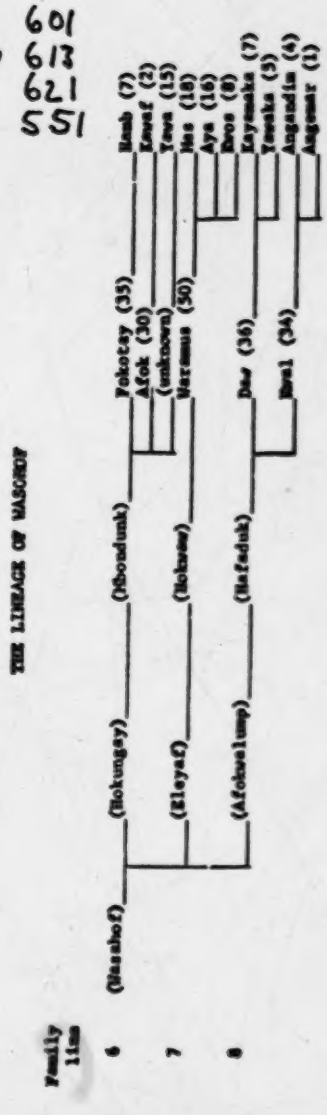

Appendix 3

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INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF RUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Rumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWARJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Amba	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIN	4	Wasahof
ANGEMAR	1	Wasahof
ASAHAMPA	adult	Other.
Awa	15	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chimuwa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAHANGI	36	Wasahof
Dawi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Famba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKDTAY	35	Wasahof
Gage	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIFAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayamaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	25	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiya	15	Mangwiyow
KWOWAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWOWAYI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

115
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162
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Name	Age	Lineage
KWOS	8	Wasahof
LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Mana	12	Mangwiyow
MANO	24	Mangwiyow
MAR	18	Mangwiyow
MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
MES	18	Wasahof
MEY	12	Mangwiyow
MOETSI	Old man of Bongwen - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
MUNDIK	young adult	Other
Nemaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nambomai.
NAMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
Nawa	adult	Wasahof
NAWABAMEN	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
Ngwiye	adult	Wasahof
NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
ROB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
Pambe	17	Mangwiyow
PWISAMBI	adult	Other
SOF	adult	Other
SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
SUW	3	Mangwiyow
TAKAMUR	38	Mangwiyow
Toka	6	Mangwiyow
Uka	24	Mangwiyow
WAR	34	Mangwiyow
WARAMUS	30	Wasahof
WAY	46	Mangwiyow
WENYAMENJ	old man	Other
WINGAMI	adult	Other
WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
WIYANGAMC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
WOF	43	Mangwiyow
Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
YAT	32	Mangwiyow
Yawa	15	Wasahof
Yawaka	5	Wasahof
Yimbe	18 mos.	Mangwiyow